

SCOTLAND'S STORY

35

**A giant step on the
road towards
modern times**

**The Kirk gives all
fornicators hell**

**Dark Highlands
penetrated by
map makers**

**Welcome to the
wee bawbee**

**The man who
was Sherlock
Holmes**



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ATLANTIC
OCEAN

1727

Royal Bank of Scotland founded.



1740

Kirk outraged by Sabbath-breaking and 'sinfulness' among the people.



1746

Jacobite challenge to Hanover stimulates manufacture of military maps and fortifications.



1750

Waged female flax spinners work across Scotland.



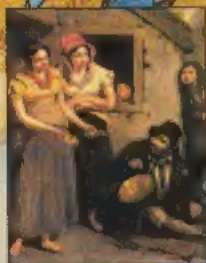
1747

Bill to end heritable jurisdiction is passed. Argyll uses compensation to build Inveraray Castle.



1760

Ordinary Scots live in slowly changing conditions.



1752

Certain Jacobite estates annexed with plans for 'improvement'.



1765

Around 90 bleachfields established throughout the country.



1769

Fort George completed at a cost of £160,000.



**In Part 36:
The Scottish
Enlightenment**

PART OF
IRELAND

North
Channel

PART OF
ENGLAND



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Completed in 1769 at a total cost of more than £160,000 (around £1 billion in today's money), the new Fort George was the greatest military fortification in Europe. It proved the government remained extremely worried about the Jacobite threat. By Ross MacKenzie, The Culloden Centre, Inverness.

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Scotland in 1760 was not hugely different from the place it had been 100 years before. But amidst the continuance of old traditions, there were deep and far-reaching changes afoot. By Dr Richard Finlay, Department of Scottish History, Strathclyde University.

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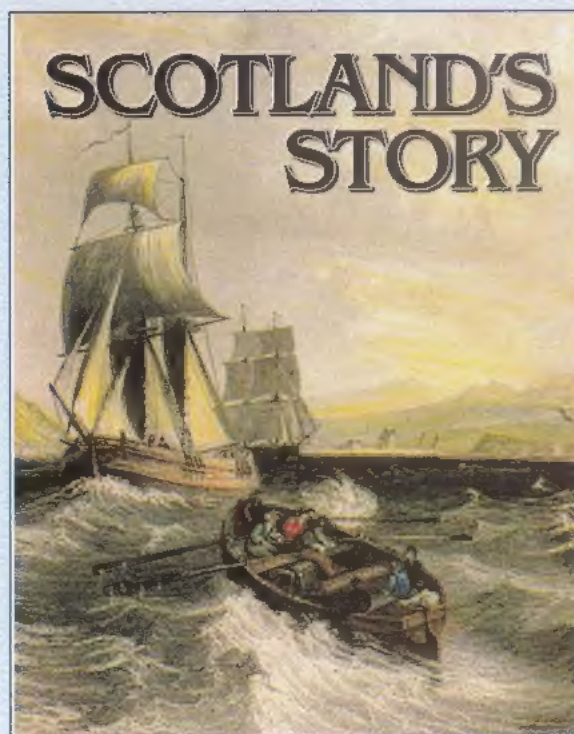
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COMMENT



COVER:
Sailors battle
waves in the
Moray Firth to
bring supplies
to the mighty
Fort George.

At the dawn of a new era

In the 1720s, many leading figures among Scotland's merchant, trading and landowning communities became determined that the failed Union of 1707 – which was the cause of so much economic strife at the time – should be made to work in Scotland's favour.

To this effect, bodies such as the Honourable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland (1723), the Royal Bank of Scotland (1727) and the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Fisheries (1727) were established.

Of course, the self interest of those involved in such schemes should not be overlooked. The 2nd and 3rd Dukes of Argyll particularly have often been accused by historians of equating their own personal gain with the cause of national improvement.

As the 18th century progressed, it became increasingly clear that the new market situation presented by the Union had the potential for rich rewards for those among the Scottish economic elite who had the means to exploit it.

Although there were major risks as well as opportunities, these, Scots increasingly turned their attention to the strengthening of

colonial links and their full and integrated participation in a British 'national' economic framework. In the agrarian – or land cultivation – sector, for example, performance was improved significantly by the 1740s.

But it must be stressed, for ordinary Scots at ground level there was no sudden improvement.

Moreover, the tendency to view improvement as a direct consequence of the Union – which was commonplace among commentators by the third quarter of the century – is misleading.

Nevertheless, the desire to make a success of the Union and the potential offered by Empire became a theme that would dominate Scottish economic thinking over the next two centuries.

For most ordinary Scots in the 18th century, the Church continued to be the institution with the greatest influence on their lives.

But things were changing. No amount of ministerial hectoring or punishments meted out by Kirk elders was able to stem the powerful social economic developments that were gradually loosening the Church's iron grip.

First steps towards



■ View of the infant city of Aberdeen from the south in 1750 on a windy day. The Banking Company opened in the port on 1 January, 1767. It became one of the constituent banks of the Union Bank of Scotland in 1849.

It was not easy, but in the end self-interest, the failure of the Union and raw patriotism were the motivators for economic improvement

The four decades from around 1720 formed a crucial period in Scottish history. However, apart from the second of the major Jacobite Risings in 1745, it is frequently overlooked.

Yet it was within this period that both the British state and patriotic Scots made determined efforts to develop Scotland's economy.

In some respects this was simply a continuation of policies to improve Scottish agriculture and trade which had begun prior to the 1707 Union.

In large part, however, the measures taken were a response to the failure of the Union to deliver

prosperity to Scotland. This, as has been seen, had led to serious disorder, including food riots and attacks on customs and excise officials.

Disappointment with the Union had also partly fuelled the Jacobite cause, although the economic suffering which had produced widespread support in Scotland for the '15 Rising, had begun to lessen by 1745 as conditions improved.

Although driven by self-interest, there was a strong patriotic dimension to the developments which took place in Scotland from early in the 18th century.

It is best known in agriculture,

with the formation in 1723 of the Honourable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland, whose members included leading Lowland landowners such as Thomas Hope of Rankellor and John Cockburn of Ormiston – both of whom were aware of farming methods in England, France and the Low Countries.

Publications from this and other bodies and individuals on ways of improving Scottish farming helped spread best practice.

Economic patriotism was even reflected in the poetry of Allan Ramsay, who in 1720 wrote: 'The Prospect of Plenty: A Poem on the

a modern Scotland



North Sea Fishery'. This was something in which the Scots had long sought to match the great 17th-century masters of the cod banks and herring shoals, the Dutch.

Success in the herring fishing, Ramsay hoped, would lead to

*Braw Towns springing up,
And Houses bigget a' with Estler
Stane;
Where Schools polite shall liberal Arts
display,
And make auld barb'rous Darkness fly
away.*

While cod and herring fishing struggled to become established on a large scale, the combination of



John Cockburn was forced to sell his estates at Ormiston to pay the cost of improvements. He died in 1758, a saddened man at his son's London house.

self-interest and patriotism did produce real gains.

In 1727 the Royal Bank of Scotland was founded, very much under the control of the 2nd Duke of Argyll and his brother, the Earl of Islay, both leading Scottish politicians.

Just under 20 years later, in 1746, the British Linen Company was launched. Again, the Argyll interest was much to the fore.

The third Duke of Argyll (formerly Islay) was the largest subscriber, followed by Lord Milton, his Scottish henchman. The plan was to extend the manufacture and sale overseas of coarse linen cloth, which from 1743 was supported by government export bounties, or subsidies.

There is no doubt that the British state played its part in establishing a firmer economic base in Scotland.

Indirectly, this happened through the rights Scots now had to trade legally with what before the Union had been exclusively English colonies, including the West Indies and the American tobacco-growing estates of Virginia and Maryland.

Not only could goods such as tobacco and sugar cane be brought

to Scotland, but the transatlantic connections also created massive markets for Scottish products.

These included Scotland's most important manufacture, linen cloth — much of which was used to clothe slaves — but also leather and iron goods. Increasingly, these were made in Scotland.

Shipping within the bounds of the British imperial marine was safer, too. Naval convoys protected Scottish ships, although Scotland's location meant that vessels crossing the Atlantic could go north about Ireland, and avoid the attentions of hostile privateers.

The new British state also acted directly to overcome Scotland's difficulties. In part, of course, this was a result of the concern that was felt in London about the security of Scotland, or North Britain.

Never far from the surface south of the Border, as well as amongst loyal Presbyterian Scots, was the possibility that the Jacobites would succeed in replacing the Hanoverian kings George I and II with a Stuart and re-introduce Roman Catholicism.

In the mid-1720s the allowances on grain exports were withdrawn

temporarily, presumably in order to ensure that food rioting of the sort experienced in 1720 was not repeated.

In 1727 the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Fisheries was set up, with the aim of stimulating industries such as wool, linen and fishing.

The funds came from the Equivalent, the sum agreed at the time of the Union to compensate Scotland for taking on a share of England's national debt. The controlling interest was Argyll.

Premiums, another form of subsidy, were offered to individuals or partnerships who set up in spinning and weaving, while prizes were awarded for high-quality yarn and cloth. It is no coincidence that by the later 1750s Argyllshire was turning out more than half of the linen cloth made in the Highlands.

A small army of stampmasters was appointed to stations throughout Scotland. Their job was to inspect and stamp cloth to be offered for sale. They looked in particular to check that the great bales of cloth were of the correct width and that the quality of the weave was good inside as well as on the outside.

Combined with the efforts of the British Linen Company, the effect of these and other measures was to extend spinning and weaving throughout central and southern Scotland as well as north into Perthshire.

By providing employment in return for low wages to men, women and children who had previously struggled to subsist, social tensions were calmed while the merchants benefited from additional outputs of yarn and cloth at competitive prices.

It was little wonder then that merchants such as William Sandeman of Perth proposed to the Board of Trustees in 1753 that, in return for their financial support, he would set up weaving looms at



■ Kitchen industry: this 1814 print shows spinning work in progress at home. Farmers' wives and daughters were used to turn flax into linen.

► Logierait and employ apprentices – ‘Highland Boys’ – no older than 14, for five years. In order to supply his weavers with yarn he also undertook to distribute spinning wheels and reels to underemployed women ‘Thro the braes and Wilder places’ of Perthshire as far north as Rannoch, Atholl, and Glenshee.

By the 1750s female spinners could be found working for wages as far west as the island of Iona, and northwards as far as Orkney. One contemporary estimated that four out of five females in Scotland were employed in the tedious but income-creating business of flax spinning, although not always full-time.

Even so, we can understand why songs which date from this period bemoan the appearance of the trade:

The spinning, the spinning, it gars my heart sob,

When I think upon the beginning o't.
One of the most important

contributions of the Board was to encourage the establishment of bleachfields in Scotland, using the superior methods of the Dutch and the Irish.

Prior to 1727, Scotland's bleaching industry was small and crude. This led purchasers to complain that the lime and other products used in the lengthy process burned holes in or weakened the cloth, which had to be pegged outside in fields for as long as eight months to whiten.

By the mid-1760s, at least 90 bleachfields had been laid out, with the heaviest concentrations around Edinburgh (Saltoun was one of the first) and Glasgow (Pollokshaws for instance), as well as in the counties of Aberdeen, Fife, Forfar and Perth.

Much more significant, however, were the export bounties on coarse linen. That of 1743 was followed by

a second, more generous, subsidy in 1745. The effect was immediate, with a sharp upturn in shipments from Scotland.

How important the bounties were can be seen in the near collapse of the British Linen Company and unemployment amongst as many as half of the weavers in the east of Scotland when they were withdrawn for a short time in 1753 and 1754. Protective duties were introduced to assist fine linen producers to compete with imports from Germany.

Bounties were not restricted to coarse linen. The Scottish whaling industry, for example, minuscule prior to 1707 compared to its Dutch counterpart, saw a dramatic increase in its size after a new bounty was offered in 1749.

By the mid-1750s Scotland could boast some 16 whaling ships

and for a short period in the early 1760s, accounted for more than one-third of the British whaling fleet. Although only of localised importance, for some years there were substantial benefits in terms of employment in the ports concerned, mainly Dunbar, Dundee and Leith.

Whaling not only employed seamen, but also shore workers like

■ An advertisement for the bleachfield at Dalhousie on the outskirts of Edinburgh.



DALHOUSIE BLEACHFIELD,



■ The Royal Bank of Scotland Charter, dated from 1727.

coopers, ropers, sailmakers and boatsmiths – even whalebone cutters and stay-makers. The most successful ships also carried at least one Dutchman on board.

But this is not to suggest that the role of Scots themselves in these endeavours was unimportant. The Union had created opportunities, but these had to be seized. There were no guarantees of Scottish entrepreneurs' success.

One of the most notable Scottish success stories in the 18th century was that of the Glasgow tobacco merchants. Another, less often noted, was that generated by those landowners who opened or extended existing coal mines.

Without this form of enterprise it is doubtful if the rapid expansion of the Scottish towns could have taken place, for what else would urban dwellers have used for fuel to heat their habitations or cook their food?

Scottish colliery proprietors were prepared to invest heavily in the new steam pumping technology developed by Thomas Newcomen in England.

Where necessary, ambitious landowners, merchants and manufacturers sought for, and brought north into Scotland, skilled workers in order that they could impart their knowledge and establish a range of processes which were underdeveloped.

This was true of coal mining, iron making, textiles, pottery and glass making. The list is incomplete. But



■ This stained glass panel shows linen in the bleaching process.

with their lower wage costs, Scottish businessmen were in a position where they could undercut their rivals in England and elsewhere. Poverty and relative backwardness had their advantages.

Around 1760, Scotland had made massive strides forward economically. Living standards, which had been more or less stagnant since the second half of the 17th century, were poised to rise.

Family incomes, supplemented by the earnings of women and children in textile manufacturing, for example, were already improving.

Carron Iron Works, begun in 1759, were a close copy of the advanced English ironworks at Coalbrookdale, where coke fuel was being used instead of the traditional charcoal. A new era based on coal fuel was dawning.

Banking, too, had been extended,

and a firmer credit base had been established.

There were still serious problems to overcome, however. The banking system was still vulnerable, and widespread damage was done when the Ayr Bank of Douglas, Heron and Company crashed in 1772.

Demand for goods within Scotland was weak. The result was that some of the early agricultural improvers went bankrupt as their investments failed to yield returns.

Iron making ventures which were established in the Highlands – to exploit cheap wood for charcoal – were mainly short-lived. One at Invergarry lasted from only 1727 until 1736. They tended to collapse when the periodic wars which had stimulated demand for iron goods ended.

There were still skill shortages in Scotland and Scots manufacturers had to depend on imported technology.

Understandably, there was resistance in some trades, mainly those in the towns controlled by skilled males, to the reorganisation of work and more efficient methods.

In handloom weaving, this had already shortened the period of apprenticeships. Before the end of the century, the trade would become overloaded with unskilled entrants and wage levels would begin to fall.

But remarkably, within a few years, Scotland would experience the first stages of an Industrial Revolution. ●

1720

Ramsay's 'Prospect of Plenty' reflects the economic patriotism of the day, as Scots traders bid to make a success of the Union.

1723

The Honourable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland is established.

1727

Royal Bank of Scotland founded under the control of the Argylls.

1736

Invergarry, a Highland Iron works, collapses after just nine years.

1743

Government gives export grants for the sale and manufacture of linen cloth abroad.

1746

Argyll interest is to the fore in the establishment of the British Linen Company.

1750

Waged female flax spinners working all over Scotland.

1752

Annexation Act: Crown becomes owner of 13 Highland estates.

1753

Almost half the weavers in the east out of work as state aid is temporarily withdrawn.

1760

Argyllshire makes over half of all linen made in the Highlands.

1763

Scheme to grant Highland men land in return for loyal service. Government begins to neglect the running of Scottish affairs.

1774

Annexed Estates scheme fails as young Lord Lovat's estates are returned.

An experiment in



■ The miseries of idleness: artist George Morland catches the government line that indolence brings grinding poverty.

Highlanders' laziness was part of the problem, it was felt. A dose of hard work would sort them out - by moving 'surplus' off farms and into communities

Aside from the indelible image of Cumberland's redcoats, and their systematic terrorisation of the Highlands, the aftermath of Culloden is usually associated with key pieces of legislation that sought to destroy the legal and cultural basis of clanship.

This legislative programme included the Heritable Jurisdictions Act, which ended the private legal powers of the chiefs and, most

infamously, the Acts banning tartan and the bagpipes. Given that they represented state-sanctioned cultural terrorism, it is perhaps understandable why these Acts have been seen as marking an official signpost to the later evictions and emigrations of the 18 century.

Yet Westminster's legislation against tartan and bagpipes was of little practical significance, being more indicative, in fact, of London's continuing incomprehension and

social engineering



■ Comforts of industry: surrounded by luxury trappings generated by hard work. The same artist illustrates the government message.

inability to understand the underlying social economic differences between the Highlands and the rest of the country.

In this respect, the forfeiture of estates belonging to certain Jacobite families was a far more fundamental statement of government intentions.

In the months after Culloden, several key figures within the Scottish Hanoverian establishment had begun constructing a policy, whereby properties forfeited to the Crown as

a result of their owners' involvement in the '45, were to be used as test areas for the introduction of Lowland-style improvement.

The most radical approach was adopted by the Lord Justice Clerk, Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton. Fletcher's scheme was radical in as much as he wished to see the Crown paying off all debts on the forfeited estates and effectively annexing them as Crown land, relying not on a private landlord to implement

modernisation, but the full authority of the Crown itself.

Interestingly, Milton's political master, Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll, was rather lukewarm in his initial reaction.

Argyll was feudal superior over some of the most high profile forfeited properties, such as the lands of the Camerons of Lochiel and Stewarts of Ardsziel. Initially, the 3rd Duke had hoped such estates could be transferred to him and

become part of his own enormous property.

However, certain developments ensured that this was impossible. First, Argyll, though a committed Hanoverian, was profoundly disliked and distrusted in London. This meant that while many leading politicians, such as Prime Minister Henry Pelham, were reluctant to find the huge amounts of public money required to pay off the various estate debts, it was felt that the alternative ►

The only long term influence on the Rannoch settlement was an increase in the cases of venereal disease

► was to allow the Argylls a dangerous monopoly within the region. In this respect, the assassination near Ballachulish of Colin Campbell of Glenure, factor for the forfeited estate of Appin on May 15, 1752, highlighted two important issues.

Glenure had aroused the implacable hatred of local tenantry by removing them from some of the best droving farms in Glenduror, and placing himself or his kinsmen in possession.

While in Edinburgh and London there was little or no concern for the removed tenantry, such evictions were seen as exemplifying the tendency of the Campbells to act as if all public property and economic opportunities deriving from the Crown were somehow for them.

More fundamentally, however, the intense opposition to the improvement regime of Glenure, which had been evident since 1749, revealed just how alienated ordinary tenantry were from the Hanoverian objective of a fully-modernised and commercial social order.

The result was that in March, 1752, Parliament passed the Annexation Act. Under its provisions all debts due upon the 13 chosen estates were to be paid off leaving the Crown as 'unalienable' owner.

The estates lay in many different parts of the Highlands and included the relatively improved lands of the Drummonds of Perth, stretching from Crieff to Callander.

Two other prominent estates were those of the Frasers of Lovat near Inverness and the sprawling Ross-shire lands of the Mackenzies of Cromartie. Altogether, the total rental of the Annexed Estates came to about £5,000 per annum.

In June, 1755, a Board of Commissioners was appointed with an official remit that was to ensure 'the promoting amongst them [the tenantry] of Protestant religion, good government, industry and manufactures, and the principal of duty and loyalty to His Majesty'.

On the insistence of Cumberland,



■ Callander: one of the extended villages set up for 'surplus' families.

certain key Highland landlords were prevented from sitting as Commissioners. It was feared that too much Highland influence would perpetuate the clannishness and perceived backwardness that afflicted the lands in question.

The result was that prominent Highland chiefs such as James Murray, 2nd Duke of Atholl and John Campbell, 3rd Earl of Breadalbane, were barred. Instead, men like Gilbert Elliot and Henry Home, Lord Kames, imbued with Lowland concepts of estate re-organisation, predominated on the Commission.

Their programme was undoubtedly comprehensive and represented a genuine attempt at social engineering. At the basic level, this meant that tenure on all farms came under critical review. The tacksman/subtenant structure and the run-rig system were both deliberately targeted.

Leases, which in many parts of the Highlands were still considered unacceptable in that they appeared to limit the right of the tenantry to their lands, were strictly enforced.

The latest models of tenure, which stressed the rational nature of the single enclosed farm, meant that communal, run-rig settlements were slowly divided and enclosed. The corollary of this rural reorganisation was, of course, urbanisation.

It was felt that part of the Highlanders' problem was communal laziness, a lack of a proper, full-time work ethic. To remedy this it was decided that the

surplus populations removed from the reorganised farms would be settled in newly-established or extended villages at Ullapool, New Tarbat, Beaulieu, Inverurie in Knydard, Kinloch Rannoch and Callander.

Once within these villages the erstwhile tenants would act as a market for the agricultural produce of the new farms. They would ensure their own livelihoods by becoming wool or linen weavers, or, alternatively, fishermen.

Once the Commissioners lacked money to invest and failed to provide the technology and infrastructure required for the new villages to develop. Moreover, the Seven Years' War diverted the Commissioners from their original improvement plans. As tenants of the Crown, the populations of the Annexed Estates were expected to demonstrate their new loyalty to the Hanoverians.

In 1757, Simon Fraser of Lovat went about erasing the treason of his father by recruiting over 300 men from the family's former clan lands.

They were recruited on the explicit understanding their loyalty would be rewarded with resettlement upon their local estates.

In 1763, just such a settlement programme was begun: the outline of the plan was that 500 sailors and 500 soldiers would be settled in special colonies established on the estates.

In addition, the Commissioners encouraged private landlords such as Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant and Kenneth Mackenzie, Earl of

Seaforth, to involve themselves in the scheme, promising that if they settled such ex-military personnel they would receive a £3 bounty per man. The scheme was a high-profile failure.

Despite this, the Commissioners' plans contained certain features that were to have important repercussions for the Highlands in general. Each settled man was promised his own individual plot of land, which the Commissioners insisted was to be separated from the land next to it and deliberately reduced in acreage in order that the occupant would have no choice but to turn to either weaving or fishing.

In other words, the settlement scheme witnessed the implementation ofcrofting, not just upon the Annexed Estates themselves, but also on the lands of landlords like Seaforth, who had agreed to participate.

Despite the fact that the 1763 scheme advanced a model that was later to become hugely important in the North West Highlands, it nonetheless failed to attract more than 250 sailors and 270 soldiers.

Indeed, on the Annexed Estate of Strowan, beside Kinloch Rannoch, the only real lasting influence of the settlement of local soldiers was an increased incidence of VD — a legacy of the soldiers' less-than-moral antics while defending the empire of George II.

Even less amusing for the locals was the fact that the settlement of such personnel resulted in the eviction of many sitting tenants and left a sense of profound community bitterness on the Lovat and Cromartie estates.

In the longer term, the project was a disaster — costing well over £13,000. It effectively bankrupted the resources of the Commissioners and stymied any further attempts at improvement. This was recognised when, in 1774, in return for his loyalty and recruiting efforts on behalf of the Crown, Simon Fraser of Lovat was given back his father's Annexed Estate.

Following their conspicuous army recruiting during the American Revolutionary War, the remaining lands were returned to the descendants of the forfeited families in 1784. Ultimately, government-planned improvement had been an almost total failure.

Nonetheless, the Annexed Estates Commission had provided practical models of estate reorganisation and relocation that the new leaders of improvement, the private landlords, were to impose upon the region in a far more draconian and fashion in the decades after the 1780s. ●

The Jacobite lands are 'nationalised'

■ Campbell stronghold: the Duke of Argyll was said to have built his gothic pile of Inveraray Castle from the proceeds of lucrative compensation claims.



The Cambells did well in the carve up, but in government terms there was a vacuum

After the defeat of the Jacobite uprising in 1746, Scotland lay open to British state intervention designed to ensure that there would never be armed rebellion there again.

From an English perspective, it had been a Scottish rebellion, whereas to Scots it was a civil war.

There were those in London who proposed that the population of the

Scottish Highlands be transported to America as indentured servants and replaced by a plantation of yeoman farmers recruited from the north of England.

Others felt that government since the Union had not been unionist enough, and looked back further to the Cromwellian occupation as a suitable model for post-rebellion government.

General Humphry Bland, the

Cromwell has set us an example to bring this country to the obedience of England, and which render'd the People happy and I some more of his rules were followed by the English Ministry in what relates to this country it would produce the desired effect."

Whereas Cumber, and on leaving ►

Scotland was receiving little systematic attention either in London or Edinburgh but things were beginning to improve

► His post in Scotland had written that "I am sorry to leave this country in the condition it is, for all the good that we have done has been a bloodletting, which has only weakened the madness, but not at all lost it and I tremble for fear that this vile spot may still be the ruin of this island and of our family."

Cumberland and others in England were convinced the Campbells were somehow responsible for the rebellion, including Sir Robert Walpole's former Scottish manager Archibald Campbell, once Earl of Islay, but from 1743 the 3rd Duke of Argyll.

He had left Scotland and went straight to London when the rebellion broke out, remembering that his brother had received no credit for taking the initiative and defending the government in 1715, only to be dismissed from his offices afterwards on suspicion of sympathy for the rebels. While in London, he

had concentrated on securing government authority to raise troops in Scotland loyal to the government which eventually was done on the Argyll estates and also in Mackay and Sutherland country in the north.

But after 1746, Cumberland regarded Argyll as an overmighty subject, and his supporters as the intent on preventing meaningful change in the country he saw as 'this vile spot.'

Out of a belief that English intervention was necessary to bring about reform in Scotland, the Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Hardwicke, brought forward a bill to end heritable jurisdictions—the private legal jurisdictions, which had been preserved in Scotland as part of the Scottish legal system in 1707.

Hardwicke and others now saw them as feudal institutions allowing landowners in Scotland to substitute their own authority for that of the state and so coerce their tenants into armed rebellion.

In fact, there was little evidence for this in the rebellion itself, but still support for the introduction of substantial changes to the Scottish Sheriff Courts.

Argyll spoke in favour of this in the House of Lords, although one of his opponents recorded that "Had I not been informed before that he was to speak for the bill I should have thought from his facts and reasonings that he intended to vote against it."

Argyll had argued that heritable legal jurisdictions, such as those he himself held, had been necessary in the past in Scotland to protect the localities against the despotic Stuart regime that had executed his

grandfather and great-grandfather for treason. Heritable jurisdictions were thus not an example of the feudal barbarity of a primitive and rebellious country as seen from the English perspective—but a necessary part of the Scottish constitution, which was no longer necessary now that the Jacobite threat had been repulsed and the legal system had reached the point where its Sheriff Courts could be maintained by a new generation of talented professional lawyers.

In 1757, a much delayed act planned originally after the Jacobite rebellion, provided for annexation of Jacobite estates by the government in what was the first attempt at land nationalisation in Britain.

As with the abolition of heritable jurisdictions, this act was implemented in Scotland by the Argyll interest in such a way that its original punitive intentions, when passed at Westminster, were transformed into the kind of economic and administrative package that the Earl of Islay had implemented in conjunction with the British Walpole ministry after 1725.

The Court of Session eventually settled claims in compensation for heritable jurisdictions that brought a vast sum into the hands of Scottish landowners, including Argyll, who could be said to have financed the construction of his new Gothic castle at Inveraray out of the proceeds.

Payments by the British Treasury of debts due on the Perth and Lovat estates annexed in 1752 led to further massive expenditure after adjudication by the Court of Session and the passage of parliamentary legislation in 1759 and 1770.

By 1757, Argyll was acting as British broker in Scotland to help the state raise troops on a substantial scale for the war effort against France, particularly in North America.

It was this legacy of directing Scottish affairs that he left to his nephew the third Earl of Bute when he died in 1761, described by his followers as 'the father of his country.'

In many ways the Earl of Bute did not understand the sovereignty of Scotland as passed on to him by his



■ The Carron Iron Works near Falkirk w

uncle, and once Argyll's chief lieutenant, Lord Milton, succumbed to senility in 1765, the old Campbell interest ceased to function in any meaningful way.

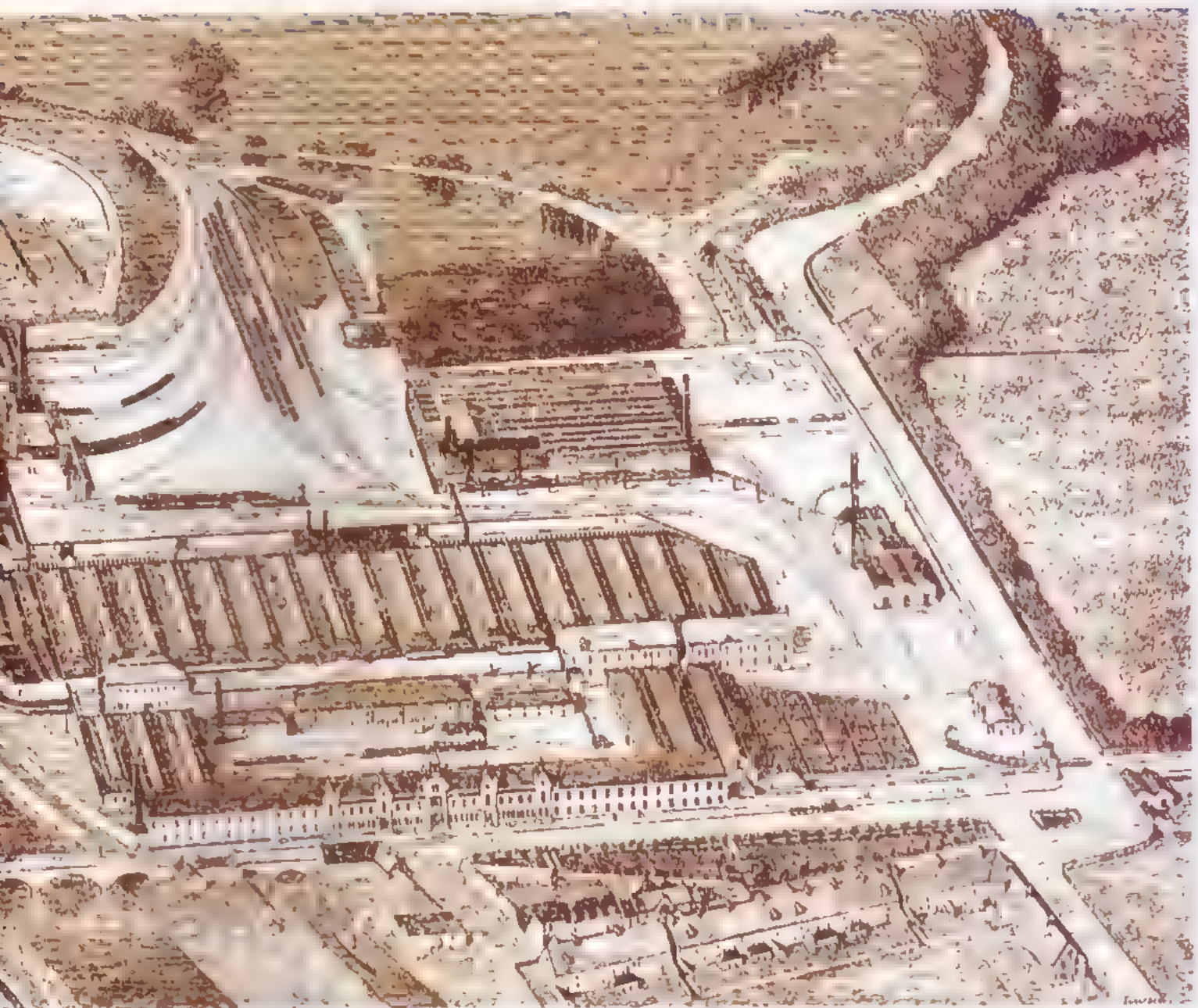
Many at the time believed that this was only natural, that Argyll and Milton represented the generation of Scottish politicians that had negotiated the Union and literally fought to keep it in place against both Presbyterians and Jacobites.

The new generation, represented by figures such as the 3rd Earl of Bute, James Boswell, or Lord Kames, felt that the time had arrived to complete the Union and dispense with Scottish sovereignty within it, just as their ideological successors would in the 19th century when attempts were made to reform the Scottish political and administrative system in 1832.

"It was natural, and perhaps prudent, to leave that country



■ The Duke of Cumberland mistrusted Campbell power.



in 1759 and showed how political stability could lead to economic growth. The picture is of the 1880s period showing the works in the centre foreground.

[Scotland] to the direction of those who had governed it before the Union", wrote Lord Elibank of East Lothian in 1760

"But now that [sic] of men is gone, and the removal of the seat of government has made it impossible that others should rise up in their stead, the case is widely altered"

This was not to be. From the time Bute gave up any pretence to direct Scottish public affairs in 1763, until the election of 1784, Scottish government received little systematic attention either in London or Edinburgh

The end of one system was not replaced with another, but left blank. Is it mere coincidence this is the same period that witnessed the great years of achievement of the Scottish Enlightenment?

These were the years when public attention in Scotland was focused in

a sustained way on the problems of national improvement in the economy, culture and society of Scotland

This was a period when the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Select Society, the Faculty of Advocates, the Court of Session and the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland began to emerge as civic institutions that sought to address political and economic issues in Scotland

The Scottish banking system continued to develop as a key institution in this period, flourishing in an environment of autonomous action by Scottish institutions operating outside parliament, much of the time rather than subordinate to it, establishing a powerful tradition in Scottish civic life that exists to this day

These were institutions that

represented Scottish sovereignty within the Union as the country flourished, an example which directly influenced Benjamin Franklin, John Witherspoon and many of the others who introduced the federal principle into the government of the United States from 1776-1789

The growing cultural confidence of the Enlightenment became reflected in economic activity as the town council of Edinburgh embarked on the construction of a new town to create a modern capital for a modernised country.

The construction of the Forth and Clyde canal by public subscription began to provide the transportation network to underpin the development of the rapidly growing economy of the Scottish central belt, while inward investment from England in enterprises like the Carron

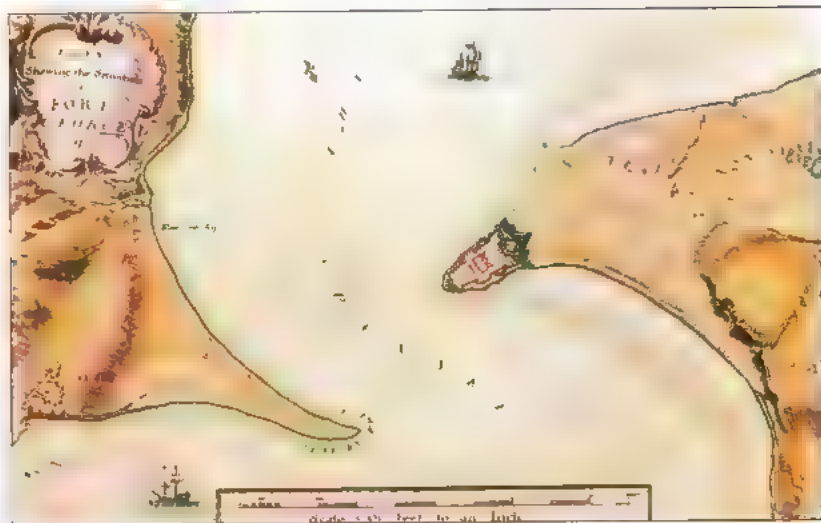
ironworks near Falkirk demonstrated just how the political stability, so painfully won after the last Jacobite rebellion, could lead to further economic growth

Scottish semi-independence had prevented English subjugation after the last Jacobite rebellion, and instead had encouraged the leaders of Scottish society to turn from political machinations to the problems of social and economic development in a modern society

Within 30 years Scotland acquired worldwide fame as a centre of Enlightenment culture based on the wealth created by a modern economy

While the social problems created in its wake, left a legacy never anticipated by the leaders of the Scottish Enlightenment, the lives of everyone in Scotland would never be the same again. ●

Finding a way in the Highland 'darkness'



■ A plan of Fort George, above, dating from 1752, highlights its strategic position on a promontory jutting out into the Moray Firth. On the right is a map, drawn up in 1763, showing the terrain of the battlefield at Culloden.

Military needs were the spur, but after the '45 new maps show Scotland on the verge of massive change

Despite the pioneering surveys of Timothy Pont in the late 16th century, and the eventual publication in 1654 of 47 of his regional maps – in Volume Five of Johannes Blaeu's 'Atlas Novus' – much of Scotland, and particularly the Highlands, remained terra incognita to travellers

This proved a matter of considerable concern to both sides in the Jacobite civil wars, particularly in 1745 and 1746

Earlier, the Jacobite court in exile

in St Germain began to collect maps of Scotland to prepare for an attempt at restoration. They also commissioned a new map in 1689 by the cartographer J B Nollin

Some maps did exist of the military roads built by General Wade, and the Board of Ordnance was responsible

for several surveys and maps of the new fortifications built in the Highlands, but no large-scale map suitable for military use existed.

In fact, General Hawley, on taking command of the Government's troops in Scotland, wrote in December, 1745: "I am going in the





dark, for Marechal Wade won't let me have his map. He says that his majesty has the only one to follow it."

Cumberland himself recognised the inconvenience of not having suitable maps in his search for Prince Charles after Culloden. Clearly this

was a situation that needed remedy.

Lack of precise knowledge of Highland terrain made it imperative for such maps to be produced if the Government were to have any chance of preventing another Rising and it was the Duke of Cumberland, in 1746, who made the arrangements

for such a military survey to be carried out after obtaining approval from his father, George II.

Initially, the work of surveying was entrusted to Lieutenant Colonel David Watson, who was based at the government camp at Fort Augustus and was making new military roads

in the Highlands. He passed on the survey work to William Roy, a civilian draughtsman originally from Lanark, who probably worked in the Board of Ordnance.

His initial survey of the terrain around Fort Augustus, was considered to be so good that it was ▶

The building of Fort George indicated a government still in a state of jitters

► extended to cover the whole of the north of Scotland from 1749

Fanning out from Fort Augustus, six separate work parties, under Watson and Roy, spent the summer months in the field making surveys. Watson took the finished summer's work to London every year for inspection

A watercolour by Paul Sandby, an English artist who had come north with the Duke of Cumberland, shows a survey party at work in the Highlands – the surveyor with his theodolite and six soldiers who acted as his assistants as well as providing him with a military escort. There is even a kilted Highlander, presumably acting as the party's guide

The maps remained in Watson's possession until his death in 1761. They then found their way into the Royal Library, which formed the basis of the British Library, and that is where they remain to this day

The north of Scotland survey was finished by 1752, and the decision was made to cover the whole country – thus Roy had finished by 1754, just in time for his survey to be used in 1755 as Britain and France were again at war.

We are fortunate in having the Military Survey. It shows a Scotland on the verge of some of the greatest social and economic changes ever to occur, and gives us a unique picture of the face of our country over 200 years ago

The scale of one inch to 1,000 yards allows considerable detail. In plans of Scotland's towns, for example, (rural settlement, though shown, appears much more stylised), the road system, the new parks starting to appear around some of the nobility's houses, and the new regularised field systems often appearing side by side with examples of the old rig systems.

As would be expected from a military survey, rivers, bridges and marshes are all shown in detail, with place names carefully marked and

listed. After finishing his great work, Roy remained interested in military matters, turning his attention to the Roman remains of Scotland. He produced the first major work on the Romans here – 'Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain', which was published in 1793, three years after his death

Hand-in-hand with the construction of new military roads and the completion of the Military Survey went the reconstruction of the forts destroyed by the Jacobites

Fort George in Inverness and Fort Augustus

This first Fort George had been built in 1727, and had incorporated the tower of the old royal castle of Inverness. It could hold a garrison of

some 400 men. The fort had been taken by the Jacobites after Lord Loudoun had been forced to abandon the town in February, 1746, and blown up.

A Board of Ordnance drawing shows a plan of the fort after its destruction, and plans were put in place to replace it with a new fort

Initially, it was suggested that the new Fort George would be on the site of the old Cromwellian fortress in Inverness, which stood close to the mouth of the River Ness, and could therefore be supplied from the

SEA

This was a major consideration as much of the materials for its construction would have to be brought in by sea, and in the event

of another Jacobite rising could be relieved by sea. But the burgh of Inverness, which had been granted the citadel site and had been using its materials to improve the town's harbour, were not happy with this plan, and demanded compensation.

General Blakeney, then commander in Inverness, found himself at the receiving end of 'A Memorial anent the Citadale' sent by the burgh council. It read

"Memorial for the Magistrates and Town Council of Inverness

"As Mr. Skinner has been pleased to acquaint the Magistrates with his Majesty's intention of erecting a fort where the old Citadale formerly stood and for that end of purchasing the Site of the said Citadale desiring them to





■ Jutting out into the Moray Firth, Fort George (left and below) is one of the greatest examples of military architecture in Europe. But it was already obsolete by the time it was completed in 1769, and never witnessed a shot fired in anger.



Inverness garrison – in a letter home to his father he describes it as:

"A vast quantity of earth thrown up for ramparts, and the counterscarp and glacis finished. But I believe there's still work for six or seven years to do. When it is finished one may venture to say (without saying much) that it will be the most considerable fortress and the best situated in Britain."

"I fancy your neighbour, Mr. Skinner the architect, thinks it a very good fortification. I dare say he finds it so."

Built to house a garrison of 1,600 men, and covering some 40 acres, the work was not finished until 1769 at double the estimated cost (a billion pounds in today's money).

Already obsolete by the time its construction was finished, Fort George nonetheless remains one of Europe's greatest pieces of military architecture, built to overawe the Highlanders at a cost of £160,000. It remains a functioning garrison to this day.

Instead of overawing, Fort George rapidly became a tourist attraction and all visitors to the Highlands made a

point of viewing Europe's then most considerable artillery fortification.

Dr Johnson and Boswell visited it on their tour to the Hebrides in 1773, dining with the then garrison commander and his officers, and considering it 'the most regular fortification in the island'.

It is perhaps nice to think that on their way back to Inverness, where they were then staying, Johnson (a closet Jacobite) and Boswell found time to visit the site of Culloden, which even then was being shown to visitors.

Unique in its size, and the sole survivor of the fortresses built in the Highlands by the Hanoverians, Fort George's massive lines, and the money spent on it, show just how nervous the government was of the capacity of the Jacobites to call another Highland rising.

But the fight had gone from that cause, and as the social changes unleashed on Scotland by the '45 altered Highland society, so the need for Fort George and its companion garrisons disappeared. ●

prepare a estimate of the cost, The estimate of fact to be prepared from when answer to Mr Skinner arise."

Bluntly put, if the Government would reimburse the cost of the site, the Government could have the site. The Government never got its money, and the Duke of Cumberland, who had offended Duke of Cumberland, the Government decided to build elsewhere, and the town thereby lost the economic benefit that a major garrison would have brought to the burgh.

The new site that engineer Major-General William Skinner had to provide plans for was chosen at Ardersier, a bleak promontory

jutting out into the Moray Firth, some 10 miles from Inverness. The site was owned by the loyal Campbell of Cawdor, who later developed a small fishing village in the shadow of the fortress called Campbelltown.

Skinner was to draw up plans for the greatest of all the Government garrisons in the Highlands at this bleak site – one which never saw a shot fired in anger. Commenced in 1763, the works were begun under the charge of John Adam (initially the contract had been given to William Adam, but he had died before work could begin).

The site was visited by Lieutenant-Colonel James Wolfe in 1751 during his time in the

Hell for fornicators

■ Hang your head in shame: this 18th-century print shows the public humiliation of a sinner as he confesses his misdeed before the whole congregation.



by Kirk's iron fist

From birth to grave and beyond, the church ruled with rant, spies and fear

For all of the importance of national events like the Union of 1707, or dynastic struggles between Jacobites and Hanoverians, for ordinary Scots it was the parish church which dominated everyday life in the 18th century.

What the historian Callum Brown has called the 'parish state' intervened in virtually every aspect of life from birth and death to marriage and burial. Ministers were the only people who could be called for the execution of a small test.

The parish kirk session was also responsible for the provision of elementary education, poor relief, and for maintaining social order.

Established as the only lawful church in Scotland in 1690, the Church of Scotland was organised on Presbyterian principles. Although Kirk government rested on a hierarchy of courts, with the General Assembly at the top, and synods and presbyteries below, it was at local, parish, level that its impact was greatest.

It is here that the Kirk most effectively exercised ecclesiastical discipline, a fundamental obligation since the Reformation. Through this the Kirk was to maintain its purity and consequently its role as the true church of Scotland.

In the later 17th century and through much of the 18th, few people were able to slip through the tight net of church control. It was unusual for parishes to contain more than 3,000 people. The average was 1,700 and in the Lowlands most parishioners were within walking distance of a church, even if this took several hours.

Scotland was divided into some 900 parishes. Normally, each had a minister, a beadle or church constable, and a set of elders, elected from the congregations. These

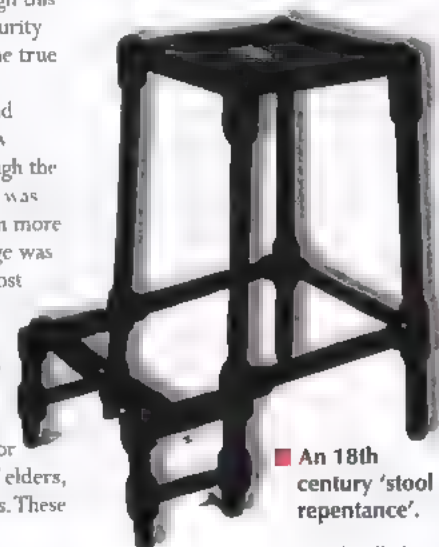
would sometimes include landowners, but most were men of middling rank, tenant farmers in the country, merchants, craftsmen and professionals in the towns.

The focal point of each community was the parish church. This the main more often the only place where the populace met together, and where Sunday worship was held.

Psalms were sung, led by a precentor who read the line for the congregation, many of whom were illiterate. Nothing other than the human voice was allowed to be heard, so musical accompaniment was banned.

Ministers would lead prayers, preach a lengthy sermon and frequently rant both loudly and energetically about the sinfulness of any parishioner who had been ordered by the kirk session to stand or sit on the stool of repentance, in full view of the congregation.

Churches, too, were used as a means of cementing the localities more firmly within the British Protestant state. British military and naval victories were often announced from the pulpit or the church door, as were coronations and even royal marriages. News, too, was often disseminated this way along with warnings of impending



■ An 18th century 'stool of repentance'.



■ **Tent Preaching at Bothwell** by James Howe is a lampoon on public religion depicting a sinister-looking minister surrounded by Sabbath faces.

Elders scoured the streets and ale houses in their search for sinners

► threats such as a poor harvest or, in 1720, the plague

Attendance at church also served to remind parishioners of their place in the social hierarchy. In rural parishes in the 17th century fixed seating was unusual. Increasingly, it became common for the main 'heritor' or landowner and his family to sit apart from the rest of the congregation, in the 'laird's loft', for which he paid.

As the practice of renting pews spread, those who were better off would have more and better seats for their tenantry. Having a pew was a mark of social status. Others, the poor in particular, might even be excluded altogether. This could lead

to the famous 'Rentfree' in Renfrewshire in 18th-century working-class parishes, where the poor were allowed to sit on the floor and instead of paying for a seat, they worked in a field for several days.

On the other hand, the extent of religious observance varied. Although the evidence is mixed, indications are that not more than one in five Scots took communion in the 18th century.

In the larger burghs – Edinburgh and Glasgow in particular – there are signs that by mid-century the Kirk was losing its hold over large parts of the urban community.

Rapidly rising populations were making it harder for the sessions to exercise the stricter controls evident at the turn of the century.

Sabbath-breaking provided a telling indication that times were changing. By 1740 in Edinburgh children were to be found playing on the streets on Sundays, while adults walked, travelled and gathered in company and engaged in 'merriment and laughter', and even visited taverns.

Heritors and ministers could be

extremely unpopular. The Patronage Act of 1712 restored the right of heritors to appoint ministers, anathema to many Presbyterians.

Not infrequently ministers whose appointment was not approved by the congregation would be confronted by a protesting crowd as they tried to enter the church to which they had been called.

Patronage disputes, as they have been called, often involved violence, with military force having to be used to disperse the protesting crowds.

Although the Kirk was a source of spiritual strength, in 18th-century Scotland it also levied compulsory charges on the parishioners in order to meet the costs of its various public provision.

Fees were paid to register births and marriages, as well as to obtain a 'testimonial' of good behaviour, usually written by the schoolmaster. Such a document was necessary if a parishioner wished to move to and settle in another parish.

Death had its price, too. School attendance had to be paid for. Tiends – annual taxes based on the

agricultural rental of the parish – were collected to pay the minister's stipend. In coastal parishes tiends were payable on catches of fish.

Tenants, upon whom heritors ensured this burden mainly fell, also had to provide labour services, such as thatching the church or manse, or harvesting the minister's glebe (farm).

Other income came from Sabbath and even door-to-door collections, and from fines imposed by the kirk sessions. Sin paid for the support of the suffering.

It was the moral behaviour of parishioners which most concerned the minister and his elders. Kirk session minute books are a valuable treasure chest of intimate social history, filled with detailed accounts of the sexual activities of those who had been suspected of or seen performing immoral acts.

The sin of fornication was the most common one to be dealt with by kirk sessions, although adultery came a close second. The first sign that an offence against the church had been committed was the visible

pregnancy of a single woman. If this was denied, kirk sessions had the right – which they used – to appoint midwives or other suitable persons to expose and squeeze the suspect's breasts. The production of milk was deemed to be evidence of guilt.

The humiliation this caused women was compounded by the tendency of kirk sessions to take the word of a man against a female.

Women were more often interrogated and punished than men, although not prostitutes, who were beyond redemption and sent to the civil courts.

To fail to turn up for church was a serious matter, especially if the parish had no other means of the upkeep.

Men, in contrast, were less often seduced than women, and more often offered to pay for their sins. They could more easily pay a fine or at least argue their case in front of the session rather than in public, before the congregation.

This was a public discipline, and the appearance of a woman was often an embarrassment. It was found that in some places, three appearances were necessary, for a 'reformation' period of six weeks. Typically, three 'last' appearances in sackcloth.

The kirk sessions were not supposed to be. There was a wish on the part of many sessions to see sinners reformed, to win back souls. But the failure to admit to sin or express remorse could lead to excommunication from the church (which meant that the person could not be buried in the churchyard, usually difficult enough for genuine such cases).

From the 18th century, it was just how intrusive the kirk sessions could be. Like good historians, one historian has written that members 'had an eye for the landscape'.

Kirk elders were often given specific portions of the parish to supervise. They also searched the streets and alehouses on Sunday for those who were desecrating the Sabbath or failing to attend church.

The success of the parish state system depended heavily on the willingness of neighbours and even



A persecuted Episcopalian Minister is imprisoned in the Stonhaven Tolbooth but is able to carry on with a baptism from behind his bars.

Toleration was introduced to Episcopalianism – who possibly made up around a third of the population – in 1712.

But the Scottish Episcopal Church continued to suffer by being identified as ungodly and threatening to the Presbyterian establishment. Episcopalians were associated at times with Jacobitism, and at times with the culture of England.

This incident occurred during the persecution of the Episcopal churches during the aftermath of the 745.

The painting is by Victorian artist S. Brownlow.

family members to report their suspicions, or unseemly acts they had witnessed, occasionally when spying through keyholes.

After sexual crimes, Sabbath breach was probably the most serious matter for the kirk sessions. Drunkenness was another target, while brawling and the use of profane language – swearing – also brought rebukes from the church.

Domestic crimes such as striking parents and wife beating were condemned, although in the last case more often if this happened on the Sabbath.

The male bias of the kirk sessions is confirmed by the fact that in such cases wives were reproved for having

provoked their husbands. In the burghs it was not only the kirk sessions with which miscreants had to contend – burgh magistrates, too, waged war on anti-social behaviour. Public rebukes became less common in the towns, although these continued in the rural parishes well into the Victorian era.

During the 18th century, however, there can be no doubt that the Kirk mattered, and that its punishments were feared, and often respected. The best evidence for this is to be found in levels of illegitimacy.

For most of the 18th century these were lower in Scotland than they had been beforehand.

After around 1780 they began to

rise. Women's sexual behaviour was clearly influenced by their concern that the church would punish them if they erred.

Relatively few women who were caught once, bore another illegitimate child. Some, notably in Ayrshire and the South West, ran away rather than face church discipline.

There were those who rebelled against the authority of the Kirk, by refusing to appear in front of the congregation, for instance.

Most of those who were caught, however, admitted their guilt and accepted the judgement of the sessions. ●

Simple lives poised

Toilets were the great outdoors, hangings a family treat, kail was a main course, fairies were real, bears were baited, filth was everywhere... that was reality for the Scottish people

In 1755, the Reverend Alexander Webster published his estimate of the number of people living in Scotland. He calculated that of the 1,265,380 souls living in the northern kingdom, slightly more than half lived in the Highlands and Islands, over a third were in the central belt and the remaining per cent or so were confined to the Borders.

At that time, about nine out of 10 Scots lived in the countryside and their principle occupation was growing enough food to feed themselves and their family.

The Scottish peasant's view of the world was dictated by the immediate environment, as most Scots were born and died within a fixed local area with a radius of no more than 10 miles.

Information on the outside world was

obtained by travelling peddlers, beggars who would recount stories and ballads in return for food and shelter; and the Church, which was the only contact that most Scots had with what could be called officialdom.

Although the Church tried, with varying degrees of success, to impose moral discipline on the community, superstition and folk belief in fairies and magic still survived to a large extent.

The concept of time as we understand it was unknown. Peasants rose with the sun and retired with the sun. Work and living conditions were dictated by the seasons and although crop failure was largely a thing of the past, poor harvests between 1739 and 1741 demonstrated that life was still highly dependent on the

malevolence or beneficence of mother nature.

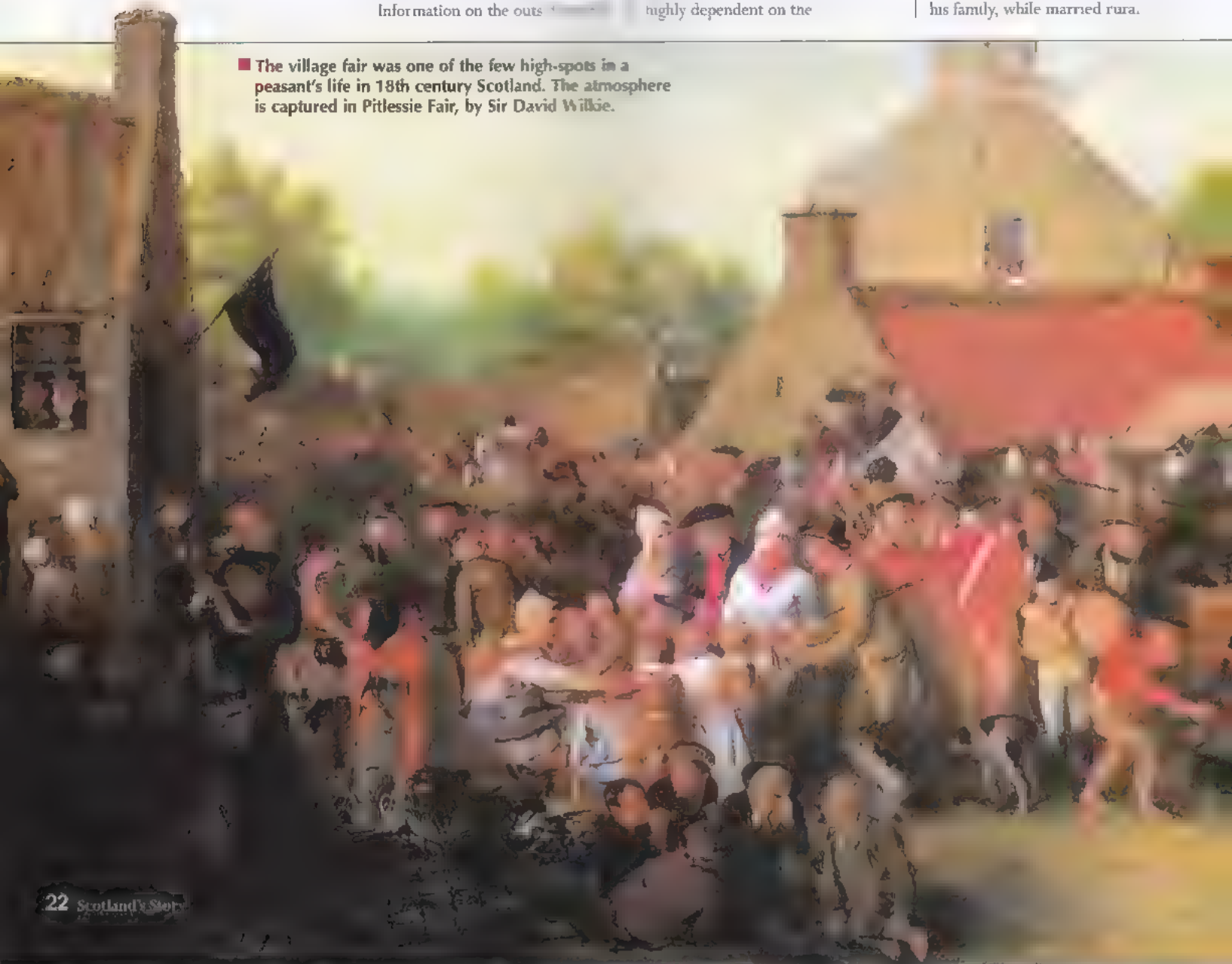
The system of Scottish agriculture before the improvements of the 18th century were designed to provide the inhabitants with enough food to live off, and only a small amount was taken to market. At the top of the peasant economy was the 'gudeman', a substantial tenant farmer who had about 100 acres of land.

Next were the married rural servants, usually skilled ploughmen whose wives and children were expected to work on the farm.

At the bottom were the unmarried servants who were expected to carry out menial tasks.

Housing was primitive and cramped. Unmarried farm servants usually stayed with the gudeman and his family, while married rural

■ The village fair was one of the few high-spots in a peasant's life in 18th century Scotland. The atmosphere is captured in *Pittlesie Fair*, by Sir David Wilkie.



for dynamic change

labourers had their own small dwellings. Contemporary accounts of family life at this time frequently recount stories of human beings and animals sharing the same spaces.

Housing was designed to provide protection from the elements and were constructed from local materials. The walls were made of piled stones and the roofs of timber frames thatched with straw or bracken. They were small with the walls close together and the floor just a few feet above the ground. The floor was made of compressed earth.

A fire would be built in the main room with a chimney leading to allow the smoke to escape.

Beds were made of straw or simply straw bales. The only piece of furniture was a table, which consisted of two long wooden planks and horn

spoons. Privacy was an unknown concept and the sanitary provisions were the great outdoors.

A midden heap, which contained both human and animal dung, was usually located nearby. Dirt was everywhere, and mud was a particular problem in spring and autumn because roads and paving were virtually non-existent.

Bathing was a laborious operation. Those who were lucky enough to have a bath tub had to fill it with water and arrange the necessary degree of privacy. Those who hadn't were dependent on rivers and streams. Needless to say personal hygiene was, in the main, confined to the summer months.

Clothing was largely produced in the home, although some had a prize possession in the shape of a good

bonnet or hood. What people wore was made from local wool or flax and subject to constant repair work. Men had shoes but it was common for women and children to walk about barefoot.

The Scottish diet was monotonous but fairly healthy. Comparisons of the height of Scottish soldiers compared to their English colleagues shows them to have been an inch taller on average, which is partially explained by their healthier eating habits as children.

Porridge and vegetables such as kail, a form of cabbage, were staples with small amounts of fish and meat being consumed from time to time. Dairy products such as milk, butter and cheese were a valuable source of protein.

Rural society was geared towards

feeding itself. The gudeman paid his servants in kind, usually in the form of oatmeal and milk, in exchange for their labour. Surplus food was sold at the market to pay the rent to the landlord.

Cottars and servants had their own patches of land, which were used to grow vegetables, and some had chickens and the occasional cow. The system of farming was relatively inefficient with land being divided into outfields for grazing and infields for sowing.

The infield was divided into strips separated by baulks, which wasted a large amount of land. The farming of these strips were regularly passed around which meant that there was no incentive to make improvements.

As we shall see, the inefficiency of these farming techniques was a



Most Scottish peasants were educated and could read. Class divisions were almost unknown

► source of horror for Enlightenment thinkers.

In spite of all these difficulties, the verdict of historians on the failings of rural society has moderated in recent years. Although the agricultural revolution would change the country way of life for ever, the old system of farming did manage to increase its output steadily, if unspectacularly, throughout the first half of the 18th century.

While conditions were harsh and uncomfortable, they were no worse than most European societies at the time. Furthermore, the countryside produced a remarkably coherent society. Scottish peasants were reasonably well educated and most could read. Class divisions were almost unknown, and although the gude man may have been more prosperous, there was a tendency for them to share their table with servants.

It is estimated that about 10 per cent of the population lived in urban areas in 1760. Of the four major cities, Edinburgh was the most important. With a population of 57,000 it was the legal, administrative and ecclesiastical capital.

As we have seen earlier, the 'People Above', the aristocracy, the lawyers, the divines and the academics were at the top of the social tree. Before the massive onslaught of rapid urbanisation, it was usual for the common folk and their superiors to live together in relative close proximity.

In Edinburgh, before the New Town was built, the population was confined to the area of the High Street. Tenements were the norm in 18th-century Scotland, and often the further up the social scale you were the higher up the building you lived.

One effect of this social mixing was that it helped to delay the fomenting of class divisions. There was little by way of a police force in Scotland at this time, and the only effective means of imposing law and order was to use troops, who could often arrive too late.

Scottish urban society in the 18th century was fairly rumbustious and the mob needed few excuses to break into violent revelry – such as on the occasion of the King's Birthday, where drunken celebrations could last for days. Also, urban Scots were

not shy about taking matters into their own hands, and greedy merchants who held back the supply of corn in the hope that the price would rise, were liable to find their stores broken into and the produce sold off at a price which was deemed to be fair.

The fact that different social groups lived together in close proximity meant that the mob contained many well-known faces, making it less frightening for the propertied classes. Also, the newly emerging middle class was not above taking part in violent protest.

Finally, given that there was little in the way of an effective police force, the judiciary had the powers to intervene in the setting of wages and prices to ensure that there was a reasonable degree of social harmony.

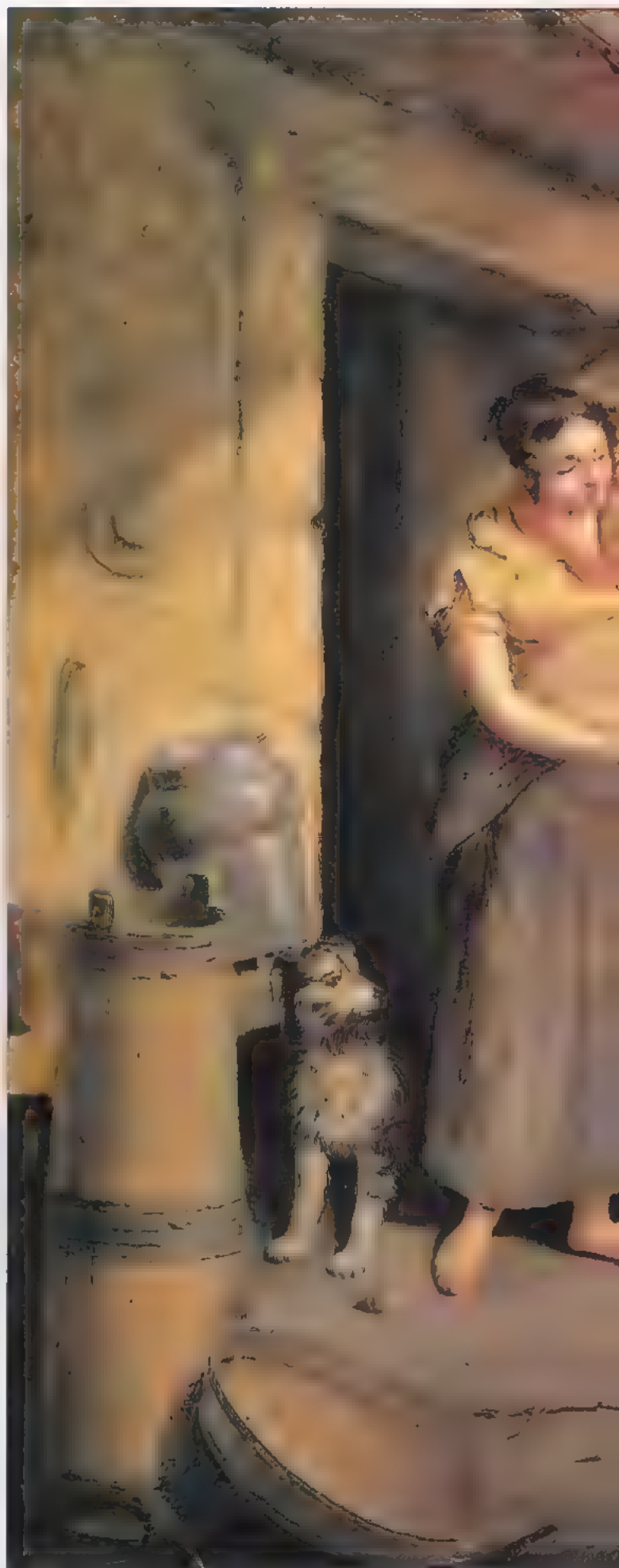
Although Scotland was entering the period of the Enlightenment and many luminaries talked about society becoming more virtuous, it was far from being a morally upstanding one. Drunk was part of everyday social custom and drunkenness pervaded all walks of life.

Prostitution was another feature of the Scottish towns with different brothels catering for each of the social ranks. It was also exceptionally violent in the towns. Cock fights, dogs fights, bear baiting and bare knuckle fights were common spectator sports. Public executions were a rare but welcome treat for the urban crowd and all the family attended.

Sanitation was non-existent and open sewers in the streets were the normal means of disposing of waste, mainly by depositing it out of the window. A whole bizarre range of occupations grew up to cater and profit from the primitive sanitation in Scotland.

Various specialist collectors carted the different types of dung, which built up in the streets, and sold them off either as manure or as softeners in the manufacture of leather. Surprisingly, there were very few epidemics in this period.

All in all, although Scotland in 1760 was on the cusp of an economic and social transformation – which would propel the nation into the modern, urban and industrial era – the reality for most people at this time was that life went on pretty much the same. ●



Peddlers, not only sold and repaired
household items, they were an important
source of news. This painting by
William Rothenstein is titled 'The Peddler'.



The man who was Sherlock Holmes

Conan Doyle's Edinburgh medical training provided both model and knowledge to launch his super sleuth

When Arthur Conan Doyle invented a fictional detective called Sherlock Holmes, he would eventually find himself upstaged by his own creation. Holmes was to become 'without question the most famous character in English literature'.

The tales of the pipe-smoking sleuth with the deerstalker hat and the magnifying glass became so popular and so enduring that they obscured the quality of Doyle's other writing, particularly the historical fiction for which he would have preferred to be remembered.

But Doyle must have had few complaints in the end, for his books – and the Holmes stories in particular – rescued him from an unsuccessful career in medicine.

The writer was born in 1859 at Picardy Place, Edinburgh, when his father, Charles, was a civil servant in the Office of Works. His grandfather, John, had taken the family from Dublin to London in 1815, where he made a living as a political cartoonist, signing himself 'HB'.

The family's roots were Anglo-Norman, their name originally spelled D'Oil. Young Arthur was first sent to a Jesuit preparatory school and then to Stonyhurst, the famous Catholic boarding school in Lancashire.

This was followed by a year at another Jesuit school in Austria, after which he entered Edinburgh University as a medical student, graduating MB in 1881.

The previous year, he had travelled to the Arctic as ship's surgeon on a whaling vessel, and also sailed to Africa as the doctor on a passenger steamer. All this experience, from his student years onwards, was stored away and would later surface in his writing.

Doyle became a general

practitioner in Hampshire, but never prospered during his eight years there. It was then that he married his first wife, Louise, later setting up in London as an eye specialist.

His next move was to go to South Africa with the British troops as a medical volunteer during the Anglo-Boer war around 1900. At that time he wrote two propagandist pamphlets justifying Britain's actions in the conflict, and through this he was knighted for public services in 1902.

But while Doyle's medical career never emerged from the doldrums, his writing talent was burgeoning. His first success had come during his student years when he had a story published in *Chamber's Journal* in 1879. This encouraged him to turn to writing later, to boost his dwindling income as a GP in the south, and his first short novel, 'A Study in Scarlet' (1887), introduced the characters of Sherlock Holmes and his sidekick Dr Watson.

The book was rejected by several publishers before being accepted by Ward, Lock & Co. With Holmes, a significant new character entered crime writing – the detective who solved his cases through powers of observation and deduction. This is now commonplace in detective novels, but Doyle had wanted to introduce a scientific basis into an area of fiction which he called 'a fascinating but unorganised business'.

The main character he created could be traced back to his student years in Edinburgh, when he was deeply impressed by his tutor in forensic medicine, Dr Joseph Bell, a wiry and angular surgeon who was able to diagnose accurately the character and occupation of his patients as well as their medical condition.

Doyle had followed the crime fiction of contemporaries like the



Frenchman Emile Gaboriau and the American Edgar Allan Poe, but his writing style was said to be influenced by others as diverse as the Roman historian Tacitus and the Anglo-Irish poet and satirist Jonathan Swift.

So Sherlock Holmes was born, his names taken from a famous cricketer and an American doctor-poet, and a second long story called 'The Sign of Four' was printed in an American magazine.

Gradually, Doyle abandoned medicine to write full-time. 'Adventures of Sherlock Holmes' began to appear regularly in the Strand Magazine from 1891-3.

Tiring of his detective, Doyle

attempted to kill himself – falling from a cliff, but was rescued and resurrected by his friends.

While his detective stories were somewhat successful, several other works achieved great success.

After his wife's death in 1906 and his conversion to spiritualism, Doyle began lecturing on the subject to the world. He and Jean set out to plan to make contact after his death. But when he died in 1930, there was no evidence that their hopes were realised.

Sherlock Holmes lives on, however, making the transition to film and television and showing no sign of losing his remarkable appeal.



■ MacLean... he spent five years in the Navy.

A quiet man of high adventure

Alastair MacLean hit the bestseller trail with thrilling action bursting from every page

Here was a writer with no delusions of grandeur. He preferred his books to be called adventure stories rather than novels, yet the directness of his plots coupled with his fascination for technical detail marked him out as an author of considerable worth. Given his feeling for action and perilous escapades, it's hardly surprising that so many of his books have been made into films.

Born in Glasgow in 1922, MacLean went to school in Inverness before graduating from Glasgow University. During World War Two he served in the Royal Navy on destroyers for five years. Afterwards he became a schoolteacher.

But in 1954 he won a short story competition with a tale of seagoing adventure, and this led to an approach from a

publisher and his first full-length book, 'HMS Ulysses'.

This tale of courage on the wartime convoys to Murmansk, written from his own experiences, appeared the following year and became an instant best seller.

When his next book, 'The Guns of Navarone', also made significant impact two years later, MacLean turned to writing full time.

The adventures that followed took his readers around the world to many exotic locations, from the China seas to Greenland, to America and the Hebrides.

He also wrote biographies, but significantly these were about genuine adventurers such as Captain Cook and Lawrence of Arabia. MacLean died in 1987, but his stories continue to find new devotees. ●

Crow Road to the stars

Cult writer Iain Banks has disciples in separate camps of fantasy and grim reality

Few modern writers have straddled between post-apocalyptic and science fiction as powerfully as Iain Banks.

Born in Dundee in 1954, he went to school in the west of Scotland before attending Stirling University and then moving to the south of Scotland where he lived for 10 years.

During this period, at the age of 30, he brought out his first novel, 'The Wasp Factory'.

This epic of youthful dreams and fantasy brought the writer immediate attention, and was followed by other books in quick succession. One of his novels, 'The Crow Road', set in Scotland, was made into a memorable TV

serial. He writes science fiction under the name Iain M Banks and tells an amusing story of how this came about. The 'M' stands for Menzies, an old family name, and he sent in his manuscript of 'The Wasp Factory' with that initial included. His publishers said it seemed fussy, would he mind dropping the 'M'? He agreed. "Then I got grief from my family. Are you ashamed of being a Menzies, then?" So he restored the 'M' for his sci-fi writing only, which was justified for its flights into the future and technology.

Banks has developed a cult following in two fields: observing today's reality and brainstorming the future. ●



■ Lift off... Iain Banks can rocket from Glasgow's Crow Road to the planets.

Clonk! The bawbee makes its tiny merk



Scotland's own currency enjoyed mixed fortunes after David I launched our first coins in the 12th century. But sometimes forgers made it impossible to tell the 'trew fra the fals'

You'll not find a bawbee among your small change any more, but this is the coin whose picturesque name will be forever associated with Scotland. You will still find it in your dictionary. A bawbee was originally a coin worth six Scots pennies, but later the name was given to a halfpenny.

The word probably derived from the title of Alexander Orrok of Sillebawby, a 16th-century head of the Scottish Mint known as the Master Monever. But now it has entered common usage, and you will still hear Scottish phrases such as 'not worth a bawbee'.

It's interesting that the word bawbee came so devalued from six pennies to a halfpenny. For this reflects some of the history of Scottish coinage since our first pennies, called sterlings, were minted during the reign of David I in the 12th century.

Before this, of course, the first money seen in Scotland was brought here by the Romans (their legionaries were on 225 denarii a year, increased in AD 84 to 300 denarii) while coins since used by

■ Artist Walter Geikie's painting of *The Fruit Seller* catches a serious financial transaction under negotiation.



■ Early coins: the David I silver sterling or penny is at the top left.

the Vikings have been found in buried hoards and in graves.

By 1136, the English were issuing money and had set up one mint to strike coins at Carlisle. When this was captured in an invasion by the army of King David, it was taken over to produce the first examples of Scotland's own coinage.

During the following century the production of Scots money increased until by 1250 the number of mints at work reached the incredible peak of 16, located from Berwick to Inverness.

The original principle of issuing money was that the precious metal used to make a coin was actually worth the face value shown. Thus the amount of silver first used to mint a penny was valued at that amount in 13th-century terms.

People could make their own halfpennies or farthings by cutting pennies into halves or quarters.

This happened until around 1280 when proper halfpenny and farthing coins were first issued in Scotland. At that time, a silver penny would have represented one day's wages for a skilled labourer.

It was in the 14th century that Europe was affected by a general shortage of silver, and a subsequent increase in its price. In Scotland, the economy was in trouble with imports rising and exports falling.

The situation was not helped by

the fact that an enormous ransom of 100,000 merks had to be paid to the English for the freedom of King David II, captured at the Battle of Neville's Cross.

All this affected the coinage, and the first step taken was to reduce the weight of Scotland's silver coins. Previously, they had the same weight standard as their English equivalents, but England's parliament then decreed that the new, lighter Scottish silver pennies could only be accepted at the rate of four Scots to three English. This began a long decline in the comparative value of Scots money. By the 16th century, one English penny was reckoned to be worth 12 pence Scots.

Then, at the turn of the 15th century, the Scottish mints were ordered to 'debase' the currency. This meant that only two-thirds of the metal used to make coins should be silver, and the other third was an alloy. There were practical reasons for this. With the rise in the value of pure silver, the smaller denomination coins made only from precious metal would have been too tiny to be usable.

Nevertheless the English parliament was outraged by this development, and ordered that anybody who brought the debased Scottish currency into their realm would be liable to execution.

There is no record that this



■ In all its glory: this bawbee, showing the reverse side, was minted in Edinburgh between 1539 and 1542. It was worth sixpence Scots.

extreme punishment was ever carried out.

But when you think about it, the debasing of coinage began a process which has continued until modern times. In 1919 the so-called 'silver' coins issued in Britain were minted from only 50 per cent precious metal. Since 1947, British 'silver' has contained no silver at all, but cupro-nickel.

The issuing of banknotes, which began in the 18th century surely ended the concept that money – the tokens themselves – needed to have any intrinsic value. Money was the 'promise to pay'.

Back in the 15th century, though, we have the first evidence of people producing counterfeit money in Scotland. 'False cunyeouris' (coiners) were discovered to be at work in Inverness, Dysart and Forfar, and an act was passed decreeing that their forged pennies should not be accepted in payment.

A fourpenny coin, called a plack, was issued around this time and became attractive to the counterfeiters, so that according to parliament 'it is impossible to decerne and know the trew fra the fals'.

All recently-struck placks were therefore called in by the mints to be melted down and the metal re-used. But a century later the problem still existed.

In what sounds like an outburst of administrative fury, the Lords of Council said the forging was carried out by 'divers tratouris and untrew liegis' and by 'utheris unfaithfull folkis of uthir realmis'.

Because of the amount of forgery,

people had been refusing to accept placks in payment. So the council issued a two-pronged edict.

All towns and burghs were to be searched for forged placks which would then be destroyed – and anybody refusing payment in placks would be 'punist to the deid'.

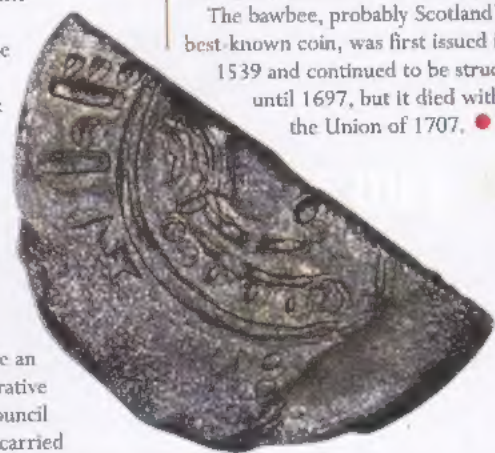
Extreme measures indeed, but they seem to have been effective. Much later, a hoard of counterfeit placks, bearing the head of James IV and James V, was recovered from a cesspit in London. They seem to have been forged in Flanders and were on their way to Scotland.

In 1996, a metal detector being used near Culross, in Fife, discovered another abandoned hoard of forged placks, made locally from copper with a coating of tin.

It was in the 15th century that copper began to be used for the first time to make low-denomination coins, to help 'poor folk' in their everyday transactions for buying bread, ale and other merchandise.

These coins were known as 'black money' while those which contained silver mixed with a base metal called billon, were called 'white money'.

The bawbee, probably Scotland's best-known coin, was first issued in 1539 and continued to be struck until 1697, but it died with the Union of 1707. ●



■ Part of what was a Henry – an Earl of Northumberland silver penny, minted around 1139 but cut to make a halfpenny Scots.

The forts of fear to pacify the 'rebels'



After their regime came close to toppling, Hanoverian response to the '45 was predictable - to ensure it did not happen again recounts biker historian David Ross

The three main forts built by the London government for the pacification of the Highlands of Scotland were in Glen Mor, the Great Glen, that divides Scotland along the route of the Caledonian Canal.

Starting in the south-west we have Fort William, today the principal town of Lochaber. This area was originally called Inverlochy, the name surviving in the Medieval castle.

An earthen walled fortress was built here by General Monck in 1655, but it was replaced by a smaller stone structure in July, 1690, and named Fort William after William of Orange. It had a triangular form, with ditch, glacis and ravelin, a bomb-proof magazine, two bastions mounting 15 cannons, and accommodation for 104 men.

During the '45, the Jacobite army tried unsuccessfully to capture the fort, mounting their own cannons on an eminence known as The Rock. The Government sold the fort in 1860 to a Mrs Campbell of Monzie, and it was demolished in 1894 to make way for the new West Highland railway.

The West Highland Museum in Fort William has preserved the fort's panelling of 1707, which was formerly in the house of the governor. The original gateway was re-erected in 1896 at The Craigs, the town's old cemetery. The Rock stands just west of this gate. Local Gaelic speakers still refer to the town as 'An Gearasdan' - The Garrison.

Fort Augustus, 32 miles to the north-east of Fort William, was originally known as Cilla-chuimein, or Kilcummin, the cell of Cummin, a former abbot of Iona. Its name change took place in 1716, when the fort was built to try to pacify the surrounding clans. It stood on a peninsula with the River Oich on its north-west, the Tarff on its south-east, and it was fronted by the deep waters of Loch Ness.

The fort was enlarged by General Wade in 1730, who named it Fort Augustus as a compliment to William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. It was in the form of a square, with accommodation for 300 men.

This fort had a bastion at each angle mounting 12 six-pound guns, and was surrounded by a ditch. It was attacked by



■ **Mighty Fort George... now more birds and dolphins than warfare.**

the Jacobites in March, 1746. A shell fired by a Jacobite cannon from neighbouring high ground hit the powder magazine and caused a huge explosion.

The fort was later restored, and remained in service till 1857, when it was sold to the then Lord Lovat for £5,000. He donated it to the Fathers of the English Benedictine Congregation in 1876, and the Abbey, which still stands there today, is built on the fort's ruins.

To the north-east again, guarding the approaches to Glen Mor from that direction, stands Fort George, some 10 miles north-east of Inverness. It was named after the Hanoverian King George, and was constructed three years after the '45 at a cost of £160,000, which was a vast sum for those days.

It covers 16 acres of ground with its polygonal lines, has six bastions and is defended on its land side by a ditch, the other side being protected by the Moray

Firth. The vital buildings were designed to be bomb-proof, and it has accommodation for 1,600 men. It became the headquarters of the Seaforth Highlanders, then the Queen's Own Highlanders. The fort, still complete, has a museum, and is open to the public.

The spit of land that Fort George stands upon at Ardersier juts out to almost meet Chanonry Point in the Black Isle at the opposite side of the Moray Firth, and is an ideal spot to view the dolphins and porpoises that inhabit these waters.

The best time seems to be just after the tide has turned, when they chase the shoals of fish heading into the sea lochs, and Chanonry or North Kessock seem to be the best options.

It is pleasing that I can finish by quoting Fort George as a place to view wildlife, and that its role as subjugator of the people of the Highlands - along with the other forts - is now defunct. ●

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SCOTLAND'S STORY

NEXT WEEK IN PART 36

Golden age of genius



It was known as the Enlightenment, Scotland's golden age, when native genius suddenly flowered. Great

Scots philosophers, writers, painters, scientists, inventors, doctors, even engineers, took their place on the international stage.

Above them all towered David Hume. There has never been such a Scottish gathering before or since.

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